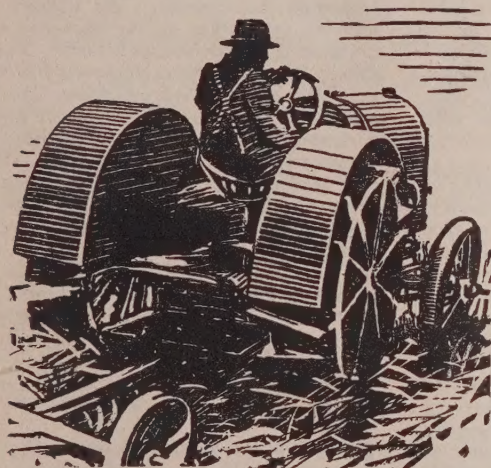


THE WORLD

Vol. XVI
No. 13

TOMORROW



Socialize the Farms

H. J. VOORHIS

The False Lure of Class War: II

DEVERE ALLEN

A Protestant View of Religion

ERNEST FREMONT TITTLE

MARCH 29th

America Revisited

H. N. BRAILSFORD

10 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year

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Ex Cathedra

"THE distress is not confined to men who have been dependent upon a wage," declares the *Financial Chronicle* in an editorial. "The wealthy and cultured have all suffered and been compelled to make sacrifices. The simple fact is that the greater amount of wealth any individual has, the greater has been his loss." The *Financial Chronicle* takes too mathematical a view of the problem of the depression. Does a man with an income of a hundred thousand dollars who loses fifty thousand of that amount lose as much as a \$1200 per year man who loses his job? Hardly. One might commend the arithmetic of Jesus to some of these editorial calculators. He said some very pertinent things about those who gave "of their superfluity" and about the widow who "gave all she had."

HENRY T. RAINEY, new Speaker of the House, addressed a Tammany meeting recently. He talked like a true politician. "Congress," he declared, "is not abandoning its powers but is transferring them for a short period to the executive branch." This is the Soviet doctrine that the dictatorship is a temporary measure. Mr. Rainey "praised Tammany as representative of the democracy of the United States." He tried to persuade us that our hope lies in this democracy. "Prosperity isn't far off now," he declared, just to make complete the picture of a political leader paying false compliments, arousing false hopes and making questionable analyses of political measures. Mr. Rainey did say one honest thing, however. "The new bank bill," he asserted, "provides for controlled inflation which may possibly reach eleven billion dollars."

THE new book containing addresses of President Roosevelt is out. It is entitled "Looking Forward" but the forward look lacks clarity. We quote: "Certain requirements must be satisfied by individuals who claim and hold control of the great industrial and financial combinations which dominate the country. . . . I am not prepared to say that the system which produces them is wrong. I am clear that they

must fearlessly and competently assume the responsibilities which go with power." In other words, let us ask the men who "dominate" the country to be good. Here is the old doctrine of stewardship. It is a discredited doctrine. The men who dominate a country may want to be good but their power corrupts their goodness. Their power must be taken from them.

THE liberals are as usual celebrating a new savior. Hero worship belongs to the liberal attitude. Roosevelt is the savior of the moment. The liberals are slapping each other on the back and congratulating themselves on his new "leadership." We admit that Roosevelt has thus far been a very good politician. He has acted with dispatch and caught the imagination of the country. He has been invested with extraordinary powers. What will be done with those powers is not yet apparent. The wild dreams of the liberals that he will build a new social order is, to say the least, a little premature. We can get a better banking system than we have now and still have a very capitalistic system, offering tremendous opportunity for private profit. The farm bill will put money in the farmers' pockets but it will not redistribute income in any rigorous fashion.

IT is of no particular importance, but we refuse to join the liberal ecstasies over Mr. Roosevelt's cordiality in the White House as a significant symbol of policy. Undoubtedly he will win the good-will of all the newspaper boys by calling them by their first names, but the fate of the nation will not be determined by that. We would, as a matter of fact, welcome a little less news about Mrs. Roosevelt. Her rather too obvious efforts to be "folksy" fill us with boredom. No, we aren't mean. We just don't like that sort of thing. Yes, we quite understand that the matter is not important one way or another. Perhaps we are just peeved by the loud creaking of the mythological machinery which is called on every four years to turn an ordinary mortal into a superman.

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THE WORLD TOMORROW

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No. 13

SHALL WE CONTINUE PUBLICATION?

THE WORLD TOMORROW is faced with the gravest possible peril of immediate suspension. Its life can be saved, but only by the prompt cooperation of its readers. The amount required to make up the deficiency in income occasioned by the banking crisis and the loss of former large contributions is well within the resources of our constituency if each subscriber will send even a dollar.

Several days ago we informed our subscribers by letter of the desperate nature of our financial condition, and the hundreds of responses already received encourage us to make this further appeal. Persons who are familiar with the inside details of publishing realize that practically no liberal or radical organ of opinion with a relatively small circulation is self-supporting. We have in mind especially three or four distinguished contemporaries which after 20 years of publication are still being heavily subsidized. Our budget has been cut to the bone. Of the nine editors and associate editors, seven are not receiving a cent of remuneration from the magazine, and the other two have been subjected to substantial reductions of their modest salaries. Members of the office staff have not only had their salaries reduced but have expressed a willingness to work without any pay whatever during the critical days until a final decision is reached as to whether or not publication can be maintained.

Our continued existence is threatened at the very moment when our circulation has reached the highest level since the magazine was founded by Norman Thomas 15 years ago. In more than 2,000 libraries this publication is weekly on file, and in some 30 countries its subscribers are to be found.

THE WORLD TOMORROW was born during the tragic days of the World War, and its death at this moment of world-wide chaos seems almost unthinkable to many of its supporters. Never has its message of pacifism and socialism and religion been more urgently needed than during these days of confusion and misery. Some of our friends are telling us that they value the magazine highly in spite of the fact that they are frequently irritated by an editorial or article. Any publication that deals constantly with highly controversial questions in the areas of international affairs, race relations, economics, politics, and religion is certain to be provocative, and perhaps that is one of its primary functions. We feel justified, therefore, in appealing to our readers for assistance even if they agree with only half of what they read in our columns.

We are planning definitely to publish one more issue. Whether or not further numbers are to be brought out depends entirely upon the response received from our co-operators. On election day the voter who casts his ballot does not need to feel that he is engaged in a futile procedure. Although a single person may appear to be negligible in influence, millions of individuals in the aggregate determine the outcome of the election. And so there may be a tendency to regard the sending of a dollar as inconsequential, even if at a sacrifice it could be forwarded. On the contrary, however, the very life of the magazine depends upon the receipt of thousands of small gifts. Most of all we need outright contributions, but our burden would be eased if friends would send three dollars and request us to extend their subscriptions for a full year beyond the present expiration date.

WILL YOU VOTE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF "THE WORLD TOMORROW" BY SENDING WITHOUT DELAY AS LARGE A CONTRIBUTION AS POSSIBLE—PERHAPS AS LITTLE AS A DOLLAR OR LESS, PERHAPS AS MUCH AS FIVE DOLLARS OR MORE?

THE EDITORS

Hitler and Hindenburg

President Hindenburg, despite his extraordinary prestige, seems destined to play the part of a King Victor Emmanuel to Hitler's Mussolini. The presidential decree which stipulates that the old imperial flag shall be substituted for the republican one and that the fascist flag shall have equal honor with the official banner marks the degree of the subservience of the presidency to fascism. The famous Article 48 of the Constitution under which this decree is supposedly authorized empowers the President to suspend constitutional provisions in cases of emergency. It could hardly be claimed that an emergency exists which requires the President to change the national emblem of Germany. The new decree merely marks the complete subservience of Hindenburg to Hitler.

Another proof of this capitulation is the unchecked anti-Semitism of the fascist movement, which Hindenburg attempted at first to restrain. It is now expressing itself in terms of consistent brutality and vindictiveness. The Fascists are pillaging the homes of prominent Jews, picketing Jewish commercial firms, preparing for a law which will expel Jews from the courts and from the bar and expatriating Jewish members of radical organizations. The virulence of this anti-Semitism in a nation which has a Jewish population of extraordinary intelligence and eminence in every field of science and art, is a mark of the pathological character of the German mind in the present moment.

But the hysteria of the movement cannot alone explain such a phenomenon. The fact that a cultured nation like Germany is indulging in race bigotries which one might expect in Rumania but hardly in an advanced nation reveals the political and social incompetence of the German people. They have a high degree of intelligence but they are not very adept in the field of politics. Every economic interest and every racial antipathy has a whole philosophy built around it in German thought. Thus a high degree of intelligence does not mitigate but rather accentuates political animosities. Therefore Germany goes through one fratricidal struggle after another and the end is not yet. The English are on the whole not as intellectual as the Germans but they are more sane. Sanity depends not upon the brilliance of the intellect but upon the right coördination of the mind with the natural impulses of life. In Germany the rational demand for consistency merely results in every political position being developed to its final consistent absurdity.

The fascist terror will probably sweep over Germany with terrible force. The fears of a dominant class, which is darkly conscious of the fact that its hour of dissolution is near at hand, will express itself in the terror; and the reason of philosophers will tend

to accentuate rather than mitigate the brutalities which fear has prompted.

Proving Gandhi Was Right

The British White Paper published on March 17 proves that Mahatma Gandhi has for many years past been right in his contention that Great Britain has no intention of granting, within the near future, genuine dominion status to India. There has been much juggling with phrases and on numerous occasions false hopes have been aroused, but the brutal reality is finally disclosed. Under the proposed new government, the people of India are to be ruled with an iron hand from London. True enough a substantial increase in the degree of local autonomy has been accorded, and the franchise has been broadened to include 38 million voters in provincial elections and about six millions in electing members of the lower house of the federal legislature. Fifteen years ago these concessions would have been hailed with enthusiasm in India, but not so today. In all political circles the fact is recognized that the really significant aspect of the proposed new scheme is found in the reserved subjects. The British Viceroy in New Delhi, under direct orders from London, is granted veto power over legislation in the all-important realms of finance, foreign affairs and defense. So broad are the reserved powers that in any emergency the Viceroy may become an absolute dictator over British India. Moreover, the inauguration of the new government is conditioned upon the approval and coöperation of native princes "representing not less than half the aggregate population of the native States of India." The entire proposal is designed to place control over the vital aspects of government in the hands of British rulers and reactionary native princes. Thus after much groaning a mouse has been brought forth.

That the proposed new government can ever be efficiently operated, even if it is actually inaugurated, is wholly improbable. The statement may be made with finality that it will be utterly rejected by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian nationalists, and their opposition is sufficient to frustrate its effective functioning. And there is an abundance of evidence that it will also be repudiated by even the Liberals who coöperated at the Round Tables. A cable from India to the *New York Times* says: "A storm of hostility was aroused throughout India today. . . . Indian-owned newspapers were unanimous in charging that the so-called safeguards destroyed all pretense that Great Britain is granting self-government to India." Yet blind English imperialists are determined to muddle through—to chaos and the speedy loss of India to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Thus we have the final answer to those persons who have been condemning Gandhi as being too pre-

capitous and who have maintained that Britain really intended to grant dominion status to India without delay. The evidence is now conclusive that genuine freedom will not be achieved until the Indian people compel their alien rulers to abdicate. Either they will succeed by means of non-violent non-coöperation, or in desperation and fury they will follow the ancient and patriotic pathway of bloody revolutionary war. That is why we have consistently supported Gandhi's campaign for Indian freedom. We are fully convinced that the Mahatma will yet triumph over the imperialists.

Second Stage of the Banking Debacle

The first stage of the banking debacle is over with the reopening of approximately 80 per cent of the banking resources of the country. President Roosevelt acted wisely in rejecting local clearing-house certificates as a form of emergency currency and in broadening the type of security upon which the Federal Reserve system may issue notes to the banks. The last minute rush of many state banks into the Federal Reserve system was all to the good, since it reduced the dichotomy between the state and federal banking systems with which we have been cursed.

At the same time we should recognize that the net effect of the last three weeks has been on the whole deflationary. The new currency issued by the Reserve Banks has not entered into circulation to any extent, and even if it does, it will merely replace previous bank credit and not constitute an addition to it. There has been a spurt in purchases partly because people fear a later rise in prices, but more because of the suspension of buying during the bank holiday. But the plain fact remains that from 15 to 20 per cent of the banking resources are still locked up in closed banks, and, while some of these will probably open later, there will be some permanent freezing of credit which, unless offset by other forces, can only plunge us more deeply into the depression.

It is possible, although not probable, that the elation of the business world over the economy bill may lead to an expansion of activity, although even then it is not certain that the banks, in view of their recent experience, will have the heart to make large fresh loans to industry. The need for a public works policy is therefore even stronger than it was a month ago, and we hope that the President will not delay action in this direction.

It should, moreover, be realized that unless further steps are taken, the banking system, even if it temporarily recovers, will soon relapse into all its former weaknesses. The plain truth of the matter is that as long as the creation of credit is left in the hands of a large number of profit-seeking private bankers there will be an unneeded multiplication of monetary purchasing power in periods of prosperity and a vicious

cumulative contraction in periods of depression. Business will still be plunged into alternate fevers and chills. The excitement of the boom periods will also lead inevitably to the speculative excesses about which we are only now beginning to learn.

We believe that the whole banking system cries to high heaven for fundamental reform and that the administration should set itself to work in that direction. The whole situation would be immeasurably improved if the private bankers were denied the privilege of creating monetary purchasing power which they now enjoy through setting up checking accounts for their borrowers and profiting from them. The creation of this purchasing power, we believe, should be the exclusive function of the Federal Reserve Banks, which, in turn, should be completely owned by the government. In short, we believe that in place of the existing banks two types of institutions should be set up, namely, deposit banks and lending companies. The former, together with an expanded postal savings system, would receive deposits which it would either maintain 100 per cent in cash or invest to such an extent in government bonds as to pay the expenses of operation and enable a low rate of interest to be paid the depositors. The lending companies would not be able to create checking accounts for their borrowers but would get the money which they would lend for both short and long term purposes from investments made by the public in their own bonds and stock and from Federal Reserve notes issued by the Federal Reserve Banks. These notes would in turn be issued only by the Reserve Banks upon the basis of government bonds turned over to them by the banks or bought by the Reserve Banks upon the open market. This would result sooner or later in the acquiring by the Reserve Banks of virtually all of the government securities and would save the large interest payments now made to private holders. It would also permit the Federal Reserve Board to control and stabilize the price level, since it would bring what is now the credit mechanism as well as the monetary medium under their control.

Whatever may be the virtues of this particular plan, and we believe they are many, it is about such problems that the American public and the administration should be thinking if we are to have permanent recovery.

Shades of Monroe

When the League of Nations Council, on March 18, upheld the view of the Peruvian-Colombian conflict over Leticia which had previously been stated with vigor by Mr. Stimson, it did something far more significant than to undertake the settlement of a vexing Latin American problem. The League, declaring Peru responsible for the acts of her nationals in seizing the disputed territory, ordered the Peruvian government to retire from the area and enter into direct negotia-

tions with Colombia for a permanent resolution of the difficulty. The League furthermore set up an advisory committee to watch developments, and suggested especially that help would be welcome from the United States and Brazil in seeing that the decision is respected.

All this, it seems to us, was sound and deserving of praise. What becomes of particular moment to those who are interested in the extension of international intervention to prevent war instead of to make it, is the manner in which this procedure runs counter to everything that in the past our own imperialists have contended was the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine. What? European states meddling with our sacred right to settle problems on this continent? Not even the fact that the League knew in advance what our position was, and knew besides that its own action was welcome to us, completely destroys the importance of the international precedent now created. In short, we have relaxed still further our prerogatives in Latin America, and have decided to enter into a wider sphere of peaceful settlement. It is a move eminently in the right direction, and one which all those who desire peace may welcome with gratification.

Will Socialist Vienna Fall?

Wherever the facts about Socialist Vienna's achievements in housing, municipal baths, playgrounds, public health and education are known, among Socialists and non-Socialists alike, they are respected and praised. Nevertheless, everything that has been built up so painstakingly by the Socialists in the Austrian center faces extinction. For ever since the rise of the Heimwehr, following the emergence of fascism in the Austrian Republic, the oasis of Viennese socialism in semi-fascist Austria has been the cause of lamentation among the reactionaries of more countries than one. It was to be expected, therefore, that the rise to power of the barbarian assassins who now control Germany should be the signal for a new effort to wipe this Red stain off the Austrian map. The obvious plot to establish a formidable bloc of fascist governments in Italy, Germany and Hungary requires Austria too for its complete initial fulfillment.

New reports emanating from this trouble-zone indicate that the schemes of Austrian Fascists have already broken forth in new battles for power, and show that without any doubt whatever the Hitlerites will swing as much direct or surreptitious aid to their Austrian henchmen as they can. The *Wiener Zeitung* has begun to run a column of "court news," and the same attempts to revive the parasitical regimes of the good old monarchistic days are to be repeated in Austria that have even now brought back to Germany the imperial flag and renewed hopes to the breast of the erstwhile Crown Prince. These are difficult days for Austrian Socialists, who on the whole can hardly be

blamed as can the German Social-Democrats if their great service to socialism suffers grievously under the onslaught that is now in progress. Millions of progressive people all the world around will be hoping eagerly in the crucial days ahead that Austrian Socialism will be able by a miracle to weather the storm and to survive the poisonous blight that has swept over the fascist countries.

Unemployed Dollars

The Big Five London banks are seriously considering the abandonment of the policy of paying interest on deposits, according to a cable to the *New York Times*. The new proposal is that money will simply be accepted for safekeeping. The reason for this radical suggestion is found in the fact that the banks "are glutted with money" for which there is no outlet in profitable investment. Even at present the deposit rate is only one-half of one per cent. The cable further says that "building societies also are surfeited with funds and are resorting to advertising campaigns for borrowers."

We have frequently directed the attention of our readers to a similar situation in the United States. Reputable financial journals have been bemoaning the fact that there are billions of idle dollars in this country. To this pass have we been brought by capitalism: millions of unemployed men and billions of unemployed dollars!

The March of the Unemployed—Millions



—Dyson in the *London Daily Herald*

(A sum estimated at £150,000,000 is lying imprisoned in our banks.)

The Prospects for Disarmament

Just at the moment when the outlook for the disarmament conference was darkest, Ramsay MacDonald made another of his famous visitations of conciliation. He startled his colleagues at Geneva with the proposal that Germany be granted equality of armaments and suggested that the maximum size of the German army be placed on a par with the French and Italian domestic armies of 200,000 each, and that France be privileged to maintain an overseas force of another 200,000 men, and Italy one of 50,000.

Following numerous interviews in Paris and Geneva, a dramatic flight to Rome enabled MacDonald and Mussolini to discuss the whole problem at length. Whereupon the latter issued a counter proposal, which is being considered in various foreign offices as we go to press. The Italian proposal stresses the necessity of treaty revision and the restoration of equality rights to the vanquished nations of the World War. The suggestion is made that Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy enter into a four-power treaty guaranteeing the peace of Europe for a decade.

The negotiations now in progress are revealing anew the fundamental nature of the European deadlock. France demands security and contends that her security can only be achieved by dominance. The granting of equality to her late enemies is regarded as fatal to security, and therefore treaty revision is viewed with alarm. The French point of view is shared by Belgium, Poland, and the Little Entente, since the very life of the new nations created by the peace treaties is at stake. Nationalist Germany is equally determined to upset the peace treaties and to achieve equality of armaments and indeed equality in all respects. Hitler has a notorious record of recklessness and may at any moment make a move which will precipitate armed hostilities. Italy has long felt aggrieved over her failure to secure a just share of the spoils at the peace conference and is demanding a new deal. In order to persuade France to make further concessions to Germany, MacDonald is confronted with the necessity of getting assurances from Mussolini that he will not support the Nazis.

French statesmen have steadily refused to regard paper pledges as guarantees of security. They have put little trust in the Covenant of the League, and apparently the solemn commitments of Great Britain, Italy and Germany in the Locarno Pact are regarded as of little value as means of safeguarding France. It is therefore difficult to believe that the proposed new four-power pact will be looked upon in France as an adequate alternative to French armed domination of Europe. About the only basis for hope that a satisfactory agreement will be reached is found in the fact that the very desperateness of the situation may wring concessions from all parties concerned.

Two Gospels, or One?

Precisely what is the gospel (good news) that Christianity brings to the distressed world of today? If one may judge by what one hears, there are at least two different gospels. One says, "Repent and get right with God; afterwards your regenerated nature will somehow find a way towards relief of the world's ills." The other also seems to be a call to repentance and righteousness, but it is directed not only towards individuals but also towards corporate man—towards the United States Steel Corporation, say, or to the Republican and Democratic parties, or to legislatures and Congress. Are there two gospels, then,—an individual gospel and a social one—or are some preachers confused?

The answer ought not to be difficult. Forty or more years have been given to the study of the problem—study that concerns the nature of personality not less than the interpretation of Jesus. The gospel of Jesus is addressed to persons; it is not addressed to the mechanisms of commerce or of government. It aims to bring about profound changes in persons; it is not propaganda for this or that scheme of social organization. But what is a person? To identify personality with individuality, and then to create an antithesis between individual and society, is to miss the reality in both society and individual. Society exists only in persons; on the other hand, persons exist only in and also through society. A child attains self-consciousness by a give-and-take with others who in the same process attain their own self-consciousness. This mutual making of one another's selves never ceases; it goes on through life, and the marks of it remain upon each of us. The stamp of society upon me must therefore be recognized in any realistic estimate of my character. You cannot understand me nor appeal to my deepest "me" if you leave it out of account. It cannot be postponed; it is there whenever and wherever I am.

No one is a "mere" individual, then. The personalities with which we deal are American personalities, Mexican personalities, and so on; they are business, or professional, or laboring-class personalities; in one instance being wealthy is a phase of personality, in another instance being poor, and in a third being a petty bourgeois. You cannot convert "me" without a conversion-process in these relations that are inherent in my "me." Therefore the gospel, precisely because it is addressed to persons and is about persons, applies directly, not merely indirectly, to our whole corporate life. There is only one gospel; it is utterly personal, utterly social. It has to do with personal life in the form of the family, the school, the church, the economic order, the city, the state, the nation, world society. To all of them it says: "Repent and be converted. Lose your wilful, selfish, unjust life, and you shall find life."

What is to be said, then, of the known results of preaching the so-called individual gospel? It surely has transformed for the better many a life. Yes, evangelism always touches some part of the social me. Conversion occurs, however, only on the sides of the self to which appeal is made and on which the appeal is felt. Every observer of revivals and of religious devotion knows that what is looked upon as regeneration or even saintliness rarely gives any clue to one's habits as an American or a Briton, a Caucasian or a Negro, a voter, a legislator, a lawyer, a director of a corporation, an investor, an employer or an employe, and so on through probably nine-tenths of the conduct of most converts. Moreover, the fact is worse than mere neglect of these sides of a man. For anyone who, being Christianized on only one side, is led to think that he now is a Christian man, is lured into religious illusion. Having become a "Christian man" without repentance for his part in unjust relations among men, he assumes that he is still in favor with God when he continues to practice these relations or to profit by them. Thereupon injustice actually acquires prestige from the religious character of the men who practice it, and easy-going piety (such as church-going, benevolence, and abstinence from the less respectable sins) becomes a defensive armor for unregenerate practices. For these reasons, the preaching of what is called the individual gospel is actually obstructive to the Christian religion. It intends to focus the light upon the crucial point in the personal life, but it disperses the light and even encourages men to call darkness light; it intends to confront the sinner with God, but it authorizes wholesale forms of sin to take his name in vain.

The Legion: Public Enemy No. 1?

March 19 must have brought a thrilling spectacle to the people of Geneva, when a thousand-odd veterans of the World War, many of them blind, wounded, crippled, and partially disabled, assembled to hold a great demonstration for peace on behalf of millions of other veterans whom they represented. It was the occasion of the first union, for a common international effort against war, of the two huge veterans' organizations known as Fidac and Ciamac, which have between them a world-wide influence and membership. Astonishingly vigorous were the addresses, which were roundly cheered by the delegates. Maximilian Brandiez of Austria roused a storm of approval when he cried, "Peace, peace at any price, peace by every means, a peace above all!" Especially interesting among the points to which the convention gave its support were the suppression of war teachings in the schools to poison the minds of the young, and complete eradication of private profits from the armaments industry. Public opinion in Europe appears to be moving strongly in the direction of ostracism of

munitions manufacturers at the very time when our own War Department and militarists are embracing in fraternal love those in this country who would concoct for the rising generation a devil's brew of blood and gain.

Unanimity, however, on this vital point was not obtained among the veterans' associations of the world, even though the million and a half members of the German veterans' groups, when prohibited from representation by the Hitlerite cave men, sent word of their adherence. Italy's Fascist war veterans could not accept the barring of private manufacture of arms. The American Legion was not represented at the conference, but it did participate in advance to the extent of joining with the Fascists of Italy and standing against suppression of the private arms traffic. Once more this organization, controlled from the top in a manner so irresponsible that the rank and file must be in part at least exculpated from its ghoulish war activities and its political lobbying, has demonstrated its lead as an enemy of the public weal.

Praise Is Due

One of the most sensational events in the history of American utilities occurred recently when the fearless young federal attorney in Chicago, Dwight H. Green, obtained the indictment of a bevy of Chicago notables for mail frauds in connection with the flotation of Samuel Insull's malodorous Corporation Securities Company. Not only were the three Insulls indicted but a number of other leading Chicago figures as well. Among these were E. J. Doyle, who is the president of the Commonwealth Edison Company, and Stanley Field, then chairman of the board of the Continental Illinois Bank—the largest financial institution west of New York. Public indignation has been so strong that Mr. Field has since been forced to resign his chairmanship, and both he and Mr. Doyle their utility directorships.

It must be a welcome relief to honest Chicagoans who are really concerned for their city to find a man like Mr. Green in public office. The pressure upon him to quash the proceedings must have been terrific, and he is deserving of all praise for his bravery and honesty. These are qualities which are too uncommon in American life today, and we hope that the President recognizes them by reappointing Mr. Green. It would indeed be little short of a tragedy if he were not reappointed and the office were turned over to an Illinois Democrat. The Democratic organization in that state has always worked hand in glove with the Insull interests, as was evidenced by the presence of such leaders as Michael Igoe, the late Mayor Cermak, the present boss, Patrick A. Nash, Moe Rosenberg, James Bowler and Joseph McDonough upon Mr. Insull's pool lists. If there was ever a federal officer who deserved reappointment, it is Dwight Green.



as Brailsford sees it

AMERICA, to this English wayfarer, has seemed during the past four weeks more nearly like home than on any previous visit. Gone were the optimism and the confidence in the future which led the European traveller to suppose that he moved among a race to whom he was but distantly related. In the old days the fact that we speak the same language did but serve to accentuate the differences. Today we are akin: we use the same language to express the same bewilderment and distress.

There are, none the less, significant differences in the cases of our two nations. The slump for various reasons, on which one is tempted to speculate, has hit us somewhat unequally. Yours is, undoubtedly the less enviable position, though your resources are incomparably superior to ours. My travels have carried me over vast plains of black earth that needs no fertiliser. I have seen the oil and the natural gas welling up from below, and the coal that lies visible on the hillside. One is filled with envy as one recalls our hungry soil, and the mines that lie deep below the surface. That poverty, hunger and fear should scourge this land is an indictment of capitalist society more crushing than any that we could bring from Europe.

First, I suppose, among the reasons why the depression has struck you rather more heavily, is that farmers form a much larger proportion of your population. Unable to combine to maintain their prices and restrict their output, they are always the first and the heaviest sufferers. In the second place, you fell from a great height, and were startled by the experience, as we were not. Long years of unbroken, if moderate, depression had schooled us to a certain stoicism. "He that is low need fear no fall," as Bunyan's pilgrim sang. The terror bred of contrast has greatly aggravated the working of purely economic causes. To this terror the American banking system (if system be the name for this form of anarchy) has made its mighty contribution. It has been my singular good fortune to see on this continent some of the most precious survivals from the ancient world—the Pueblo Indians, the flagellants (Los Penitentes) of New Mexico and the mountaineers of Kentucky, with their Tudor English and medieval folk dances. But the strangest of all these survivals is surely the banking system. Our monarchy and our Horseguards are by comparison

America Revisited

triumphs of modernity. These banks, by shattering confidence, have made the slump vastly more devastating than it need have been. Our British banks

have at least one merit: there are very few of them. Reduced to five, which spread their risks over the whole country, they are guilty of every conceivable social offence, save bankruptcy.

BUT the main reason why the slump is a milder scourge in England than it is in America is, of course, our system of unemployment insurance, unjustly nicknamed "the dole." I suffered much during earlier visits to this country from the eloquence of persons of all classes and both sexes who would overwhelm me with their denunciations of "the terrible dole which is ruining Old England." On this occasion I heard none of these remonstrances, and I wonder whether at last it is dawning, even on these people, that "rugged individualism" is not the ideal method of coping with unemployment. Assuredly the dole is not ideal either, but as a means of maintaining the physical resistance of the workers, or preserving their self-respect and lessening the economic effects of a slump, it is incomparably superior to the make-shifts of "charity." It does provide the bare necessities of life, while the twin system of health insurance gives the worker free medical attention. The buying power of the British unemployed is, of course, heavily reduced, but it does not drop, thanks to the dole, to anything like the extent of the reduction in this country. The British internal market suffers, in consequence, less catastrophically. That is probably the main reason why, relative to population, unemployment is less extensive in Great Britain than in the United States. The figures, if one may trust rough estimates, suggest that for every two unemployed in England, there are three in this country. The other obvious consequence is that the process of wage-cutting, though we too have a bitter experience of it, proceeds very much more slowly and by less terrifying slashes in England than in America. A man on the dole is required to attend regularly at the official Labor Exchange. He will lose his dole if he refuses any suitable job that is offered him, but he is not expected to accept a job below the current rates. Privation he has to face, with weariness and hopelessness enough, but not actual starvation.

The result is that our standards of life and wages (low enough at the best) suffer rather less attrition than those of the American worker. Lest this comparison should sound like complacency, let me add that the whole range of our social services, wider by far than this country offers, has suffered a menacing limitation under the present government, and is likely to suffer further. The gains of reformism will always be insecure. None the less they are, while they last, some guarantee of standards.

IN some other respects, it seems to me, the contrast tells in favor of America. This country is, I think, rather nearer to a perception that fundamental change is necessary. It is less complacent. It lacks our fantastic British belief that we shall somehow "muddle through." When I landed in this country technocracy was still the dominant subject of conversation. I recall a bookstore in San Francisco which displayed in its window nothing but an assortment of books and pamphlets dealing with this craze. They lay open to reveal their appetising pictures and graphs. I stood at leisure to inspect them. Presently another passerby joined me and then a third. In five minutes a debate had sprung up, and an eager little crowd of men, total strangers to each other, were discussing the crude exaggerations, the lavish promises and the fantastic proposals of the new creed, on the whole with sympathy. I could not imagine such a scene in England. Our minds are too rigid, and nine in ten of us believe that, as the world is shaped today, so will it continue till our grandsons are grey-headed.

On second thought, however, another explanation struck me. It is possible that America is open-minded and tolerant, even towards proposals as radical and subversive as those of the technocrats, because no mobilised or mobilisable force of opinion exists which might conceivably realise them. They are an amusing paradox to debate, a novel parlor game for winter evenings, but they are nothing more. In Europe, on the contrary, in every advanced country a good third of the voters stand in a disciplined phalanx behind ideas very much more radical than technocracy. That is no parlor game. It is the class struggle. Our middle class, therefore, does not play with "dangerous thoughts," nor give a welcome to irresponsible theorists. If we are rigid, it is because we are locked in a tight, unyielding, trench warfare. America is so far from this condition that she has actually repressed her consciousness of class, much as Puritans repress their awareness of sex. It ought not to be: therefore it is not.

The other salient difference in our situations is that you are acutely aware of the monstrous burden of debt, while in England it is hardly even now a subject of public discussion, save in the matter of the war debts. Slump to us means unemployment: to you it

means debt. The reasons are, I suppose, that your superstructure of credit was a towering skyscraper, and in that form of architecture we are mere apprentices. We have, moreover, a singularly well-drilled press, which rarely prints what bankers might resent. Their power is, in our society, vastly greater than in yours, though they use it with a moderation bred of congenital timidity. Every banker is an expert in fear. Too timid to rule us constructively, they are content to impose economy and to inculcate silence. Only over foreign debts do they encourage us to talk. You, on the contrary, with a much more numerous but less prudent crowd of bankers seated on a saddle with dangerously loose girths, are talking debts to some purpose. I wished I might live to see our farmers imitating the example of Iowa. Here is motion; here is an unrest which the new administration must satisfy. One doubts, however, whether it will bring about any change of system. These farmers dramatise the conflict as *West versus East*: they do not yet dare to challenge the tyranny of interest itself, nor are they ready, I imagine, for the public ownership of the mechanism of credit. If that is a possibility of the near future in England, we owe it to our good fortune in possessing an honest and non-political civil service.

This, then, is not the end. The ramshackle system will survive till the wheel turns once again. Neither of us was ready for our cue. The prompter will call us again.

H. N. Brailford

New York, N. Y., March 8, 1933

Songs

YES, I have sung of roses drenched with dew,
Of moonlight's glamor and the joys of love;
Of charming ladies on The Avenue;
Of Pan and spring and snowflakes on a glove—

But lately I have trod a city street
Where gutters swarm with dwarfed and twisted
lives;

Where poverty is mated with defeat,
And only lust of body-need survives;

Their offspring, filth and crime, disease and want,
Cried out to me in accents of despair—
I could not answer with the usual cant,
But silently departed, mute with care.

And all my songs of pretty things are hushed;
My voice is dead within me, and my lute,
Keyed to the major chords by Hebe gushed,
Sends forth its minor tones, irresolute.

MARION DOYLE

Socialize Agriculture

H. J. VOORHIS

NO radical, labor, or Socialist movement can ever succeed in the United States without the support of a substantial section of the agricultural population. At present at least one-third of the people of America derive their livings directly from farming, and probably another quarter are indirectly dependent upon agriculture in the work they do. There are unmistakable indications that the increased freedom of women and the spread of the knowledge of birth control, along with certain other forces will bring about a condition of stationary population in the United States before many more decades have passed by. This will mean the end of the growth of cities and the establishment of a more or less permanent ratio between the numbers of industrial and agricultural workers. And when this ratio is established, it will be found that the agricultural group is of such magnitude that its support must be enlisted alongside that of industrial workers, or the transformation of American society into a workers' republic can never be achieved by democratic methods.

Is it not probable that to a certain extent at least the solutions of the problems of bankrupt farmers and unemployed industrial wage earners are one and the same? Certain it is that the most serious problems of the American farmer center in the fact that he is attempting to farm for profit—that is to play the capitalist's game—without the capitalist's resources. His need for money and credit are described on all sides as paramount, and the only outstanding successes in American agriculture today are found on those farms where some wealthy individual or corporation or some well-organized group of individuals has sufficient capital backing to carry on farming operations with the utmost efficiency and *without the necessity of borrowing money*.

On the other hand, we have had presented to us time and time again the ridiculous and tragic spectacle of farming people going hungry because they have neither bread, potatoes nor vegetables to eat. This has been especially, though not by any means exclusively, true of the South. These people are farmers who depend upon successfully raising one "money crop" and selling it in large quantities for cash—on the open market. They then buy—or try to—the things they need with the money they take in on this transaction. If their crop is unusually large they find themselves compelled, in the fall of the year, to compete with one another in selling it quickly because the debts contracted in the raising of the crop are about

to fall due. Especially in years of good yield this competition is ruinous to the price, and the farmer finds himself either with no profit at all or with a positive deficit as reward for his year's work. And if he has not made money, he is in a desperate plight because he has been forced by the great productivity of neighboring farms to borrow money and to work his head off at his staple crop, and has had very little time to devote to raising chickens, making butter, growing vegetables or doing any of the hundred and one other things which might have been done to provide his own basic needs.

NOW it is a truism that very few farms in America—and probably not a single one of the cotton farms of the South—are run anywhere nearly as efficiently as they could be run. The reasons are: first, lack of capital, which means lack of machinery; second, insecurity, which renders the farmer uncertain whether to introduce efficient methods or not; third, undernourishment, which means inability to think straight; and finally, lack of knowledge. It would certainly seem, then, that increased efficiency is one answer to the farm problem.

It is another truism that the most commonly assigned reason for the failure of American agriculture to make expenses has been the thing mistakenly called overproduction. This trouble is really a combination of under-consumption of farm products, about which Socialists and the labor movement have a good deal to say, and the unregulated production of the *wrong* products at any given time. Everybody knows that the fruit growers of the West, who control the amount of their product which gets into the market, have been by all odds the most prosperous agriculturists in the United States. To encourage farmers to increase their efficiency at present would accordingly be a very foolish thing, since under present conditions, which are even more foolish, the more they produce the worse off they are likely to be.

Some form of regulated production seems an absolute necessity. But, it will be argued, to limit the amount of a certain commodity which individual farmers may produce would surely ruin them because the size of their investments in land, machinery and the like, the amount of their taxes, and the extent of their debts, to say nothing of their living expenses, require that, at present prices, they each, individually, produce all they possibly can if they are to come anywhere near meeting their fixed obligations.

LET us examine, briefly, these fixed obligations. First, it is reliably estimated that the American farmer is about \$10,000,000,000 in debt at the present time. Since there are about 6,000,000 supposedly independent farm owners in America, this represents an average indebtedness for all farms of about \$1,666. Figuring interest at only six per cent, which is probably too low a figure, we find that the average American farmer must have available each year some \$100 in cash to meet his interest; and this allows nothing for a reduction of the principal. Second, let us consider taxes. The story of how one-fourth of the land in the state of Mississippi has become the property of the state because taxes could not be paid upon it is now an old one. But it has great significance. The taxes must be heavier than the earning capacity of the farms can sustain. Nor is Mississippi alone in this situation. The same thing is happening elsewhere to an alarming extent, and it is becoming a custom in certain sections for farmers to say, "I cannot pay any taxes. Come and kick me off if you want to, but I cannot pay." In the third place, modern agriculture depends upon the machine for its effectiveness almost as much as does modern industry. Machines, however, are not manufactured on farms and can be purchased for use on farms in only one way—by cash. Moreover, once the machines are purchased, they immediately begin to depreciate, and the individual farmer is losing money every year that he fails to set aside money to cover this depreciation.

But suppose there were no longer any investments in land; suppose the larger machines were universally owned by communities or coöperative organizations; suppose there were no money taxes at all and that no commercial debts were owed by any farmers. Then what? Then the situation would indeed be different. And such a condition of affairs is altogether possible, as we shall see later. If, in addition, really efficient methods were used in the production of world staple crops, an adequate amount of these staples could be produced on smaller amount of land, and more time and effort and land could be devoted to producing things for the immediate needs of the farm family. The land would support millions of more people *directly* than it now does, and there would be a positive tendency for the size of farms to decrease and for this to take place, which is exactly where the solution of the agricultural problem lies.

In general there are three possible methods of attack on the agricultural problem. One is to leave things pretty much as they are—which is to leave the American farmer, by and large, in a bankrupt condition and subject to a devastating insecurity. Another is to attempt to "collectivize" farming operations and remove completely from the individual farmer the direction of agricultural operations. This may eventually succeed in Russia, but it probably could never be

successful in America, and certainly not for a very long time. The third method is to remove from the individual farmer the burdens of debt, taxation, competitive marketing, and the like, all of which are too big for him to handle individually, but to leave in his hands the management of the routine operations of his farm, subject to certain conditions necessarily imposed upon land tenure in return for services from the state to the farmer.

BRIEFLY stated, the farmer's difficulty is insecurity due to the fact that the price he receives for his product does not bear any real relationship to its cost of production. First of all, then, let us examine his costs. More and more, a large part of these costs consists of fixed interest charges on debts, which for the most part have been contracted in an effort to "hold on to the land." Next, there are taxes. Agricultural lands should unquestionably pay something in support of the government, particularly the best lands, which enjoy a natural advantage over the poorer ones. But this tax burden has been woefully out of proportion to the earning capacity of the average American farm. And it has had to be paid in cash, which has caused a much more ruinous competition in selling to arise among farmers than would otherwise have been the case. Finally, in many sections of the Middle West particularly, the main difficulty with the farmers is that they have bought large acreages of land and are trying to hold on to them at all costs. This means a burden of debt which the tenant escapes. Thus we have thousands of farmers who, in contrast to the group just mentioned, are positively attempting to get out from under the burdens imposed upon them by the fact that they are farm owners.

At the present level of prices it is unthinkable that the farmers can repay mortgages, held chiefly by banks and insurance companies, which total \$10,000,000,000 in face value but which were contracted when the dollar could buy far less than it does today. Either the banks and the insurance companies will soon own almost all our farm land or the government of the United States or of the separate states must take from the shoulders of the farmers their burden of debt, must make the land public property and must compensate present owners in credits good for the payment of land rent for a period of, say, twenty years. Then the government could turn around and rent to working farmers these lands, free of debt, and a new start could be made.

This scheme would really involve several important changes in the present situation. In exchange for the ownership of the land, the United States government and the governments of the states will have granted virtual tax exemption to the working farmer for a period of twenty years. This is true because, although under ordinary circumstances farmers would

be charged a crop rental based on the surplus value of their land, the government under such a plan will have paid for the land in certificates which in effect waive this rental. A farmer now in debt would have, instead of the debt, an obligation to begin the payment of that crop rental some time before twenty years were up, as the government would have to assume his debts, their being no longer any equity in the land. If his debt were large enough, the government might have to require him to begin rent payment at once, its own obligations to the farmer's creditors being equal in this case to the total value of the land.

To mortgagees and absentee land-owners the government would make payment in the same way as to the farmers, that is, by certificates entitling the holder to exemption from land-rent payments. Thus, holders of equities in farm land in America would receive as compensation for their holdings certificates of exemption from land-rent payments on that *same* piece of land or another of equal assessed value. Such certificates would of course have value only to a person actually using farm land. Therefore, it is likely that farmers could purchase them for somewhat less than their original supposed face value, which fact would have the effect of lowering these farmers' debts, and of easing the rent burdens of those now tenants. Something of the supposed value of the farms might be lost by present absentee owners and mortgage holders by this plan, but, if so, all that would have happened would be a scaling down of debts which might in the end be a fair approximation to the difference between purchasing power of the dollar when the debts were contracted and its value today.

NOW let us see what the new agricultural picture would look like. In the first place, farmers need in no case be forcibly dispossessed of their private holdings in land. The matter could quite well be left up to them. But they would be offered the alternative of attempting to continue farming on the present highly insecure basis or requesting that their lands be socialized. If they chose the second alternative, they would be required to do certain things in exchange for the benefits involved. They would be told, in the first place, that they would be assisted by representatives of the Department of Agriculture in forming coöperative associations. Membership in such coöperatives would entitle them to certain benefits which they would not otherwise be permitted to enjoy. The principal benefit would be that the government agricultural marketing organization—an essential and necessary part of the whole plan—would contract to buy stipulated and properly apportioned amounts of staple crops at fixed prices from the coöperatives. Such contracts would, and should, be made with the coöperatives before the growing season begins—such as is now done under private capitalism in the sugar beet regions,

for example. Farmers who are not members of coöperatives could sell their products only after the crops of the coöperatives had been taken by the marketing organization. Thus, members of coöperatives would know before their crops were ever planted how much they could safely spend in raising them and what income from them they could expect. But this would not be true of those who refused to socialize their lands or of those who refused to join the coöperative organizations.

In the second place, coöperatives would, with advice and help of government experts but not under their dictation, apportion among the members the amount of the staples which each was to furnish to the marketing organization of the state. More efficient methods might be suggested and could be safely adopted. Agricultural production would thus be carried on according to an orderly plan and with almost complete security for the farmer, who would be left free to manage his own family-unit farm as he saw fit and to engage in all sorts of productive work, such as gardening, poultry raising and the like, for the benefit of his own support.

Large machines such as threshers, combines, and cotton gins would be owned by the coöperatives, and not by individual farmers or private capitalists, and the government marketing agencies would set aside a proper percentage of the crop return as a sinking fund for depreciation, thus relieving the individual farmer of this burden, which today he cannot and is not, in most cases, carrying. Finally, taxes would be paid by those who had allowed their land to become socialized, in crops. This would, of course, fit in admirably with the present abundant production in agriculture, and would completely remove the necessity of getting cash for this purpose.

To sum up, through the voluntary socialization of land farmers might be relieved of the burden of debt, taxes, and much of the cost of machinery. They would be secure in a certain cash income from the sale of staples, and would be in a position to solve their individual problems so far as the raising of things for the special needs of the farm family is concerned. Production would be planned and controlled. Families upon farmsteads would be far more secure on their government leases than they are now on their freeholds. And agriculture would be the first instead of the last industry, as is usually the case, to enter upon the new era of man's control of economic forces through his collective intelligence.

To Our Subscribers

Because of the banking holiday we have not discontinued subscriptions which expired during the past two weeks. We are now prepared to accept renewals upon receipt of \$1.00, the balance to be paid within sixty days.

The False Lure of Class War: II

DEVERE ALLEN

THAT a distinction must be maintained between sporadic, insurrectionary violence and class war, I have thus far contended; that even if the former were justifiable in ethics and social utility, nothing short of the latter *in terms of violence* could effectually produce a transfer of power from capitalism to socialism. Also, by citing as an illustration our Civil War, I have sought to indicate by inference the ease with which a struggle for freedom can degenerate into a self-defeating war technique unless substitutes for war are definitely built up and the false hope of warfare forthrightly exposed.

One of the intrinsic weaknesses of the war technique is the certainty with which it calls forth vengeance and reprisal. Nor is the acknowledgment of this fact merely a coward's counsel. To be sure, there are plenty of pacifists, though their number diminishes every day, who are brave enough personally and socially but who cannot tolerate any action which evokes antagonism. They have never comprehended that factor of human psychology which sometimes makes the folded arms of an uncompromising pacifist, or even the assertion of super-generous love, more irritating than coercion; they have never examined the cleansing public service of anger, as upheld for example by the very Jesus to whom they so often turn; they persist in ignoring the sociological fact of struggle even as the forerunner of coöperative institutions. They derive no lessons from the record which shows the presence of peripheral antagonism and violence in all radical movements, including those of non-violence itself from Buddha and Jesus down through George Fox to Baha U'llah and Gandhi. Therefore they will not take part in war resistance or demonstrations against capitalist ruthlessness, because these create hostility—as though they can tolerate the hostility which exists.

However, those who are impatient with this sort of quietism must in their turn reckon with the fact that class war, as an alternative to passivism, is a burning of revolutionary bridges. That is to say, unless it is at once successful it defers for years if not for generations any chance of victory. If a struggle by war against Authority succeeds, it is labelled a revolution; if it fails, it is a rebellion. The pages of history contain heroic tales of revolutions; but for every revolution there are hundreds of rebellions. These make fascinating literature, but they do not as a rule free the masses from their sorry state. The result today of an unsuccessful class war would be the utter extinction for decades of all radical activity. It is not inconceiv-

able that pacifist direct action, on the contrary, might lose again and again, returning to the struggle with renewed discipline and power from its experience, growing steadily more formidable.

A war of the classes, as well as an international war, is uncontrollable. It would infuriate some of the advocates of class war to remind them that their trust in using it as an instrument of freedom resembles nothing quite so much as Woodrow Wilson's reliance on international war to end war and democratize the world. But the comparison is not altogether fantastic. We are beginning to understand the incapacity of humans to control or guide warfare in international areas, once started, but we have not yet transferred our skepticism to the field of the class struggle. We started out boldly in 1898 to free Cuba, and we ended up by acquiring the Philippines. We undertook in 1917 to make the world safe for democracy, and we have established dictatorships all around the planet and placed democracy in jeopardy as never before. Yet romantic revolutionaries still talk about class war as though it were sociologically quite different, and as though it could be directed with all the precision of a surgeon's scalpel. In fact, they are accustomed to demanding a "surgical operation" on the body politic. However, it may be doubted whether the capitalist rulers of a modern industrialized state will consent voluntarily to anaesthesia. Nor is the class warrior any more realistic when he declaims about the need of getting out the guns and organizing a wholesale firing squad; for instead of firing bullets from behind a gun, he is, if he adopts a truthful figure, setting off a series of indiscriminate bombs which are as apt to wipe out all of his own cherished aims as those of his opponents.

THE class war technique, furthermore, is already the acme of impracticality. The day of the barricade is as dead as the dodo. Yet as if nothing had happened to the mechanical development of society in the last quarter century, revolutionaries go on repeating in solemn speech the words of an early Russian manifesto: "By combat your rights may be won!" It may be true that in agrarian countries, with primitive systems of transportation and communication, class war revolutions are realistically imaginable; but not so in the major nations of the world today. The larger and more radical your insurrections, even if organized on the gigantic scale required to seize power forcibly, the more easily can they be broken up; that is to say,

the machinery used for the preservation of the modern state need not multiply itself proportionately to the growth of revolutionary masses. So potent are the weapons which modern warfare has placed at the disposal of Authority, that governments are in a position almost opposite to that which they occupied a hundred years ago. It is an important fact, on the other hand, that this very change affords unparalleled opportunities for non-warlike revolutionary activity; for the mechanization of life, while increasing in geometrical proportion the weapons of the state, has nevertheless made it possible for strikers organized in key industries to cripple Authority and break down, without war, the resistance of a ruling minority to mass demands. Again, however, it seems plain that unless and until there is in any great industrial country a huge and disciplined and militant labor movement, acting in solidarity, there remains no alternative to submission except the dubious delays of pure parliamentarianism or the futility and waste of class war.

BUT the most important criticism which can be brought against class war is the degree to which its advocacy serves as an anodyne for failure and as a substitute for effective action along different lines. If proof were needed on this point, it ought to be enough to look at the recent rise of parlor bolshevism. We have been raising up a new class of artists in escape, who, because the clash of swords is remote if not downright distasteful, indulge in a fine gnashing of teeth; and who, because they cannot institute a Red Terror in very truth, march around like boys at night, seeking to frighten nervous capitalists by holding Mr. Foster's mildly terrifying countenance outside the windows.

Yet, after all, this trend is the most trivial result of class war futility. Far more serious is the traditional hold of the doctrine on certain portions of the socialist movement itself. It is sometimes appalling to discover how extensively the utterance of outworn class war slogans serves to satisfy some of the rank and file—not to mention some of those in places higher up.

Nothing could be more devastating to any movement than to expend its energy on anachronisms. Yet the socialist movement is at the present time suspended between a dawning appreciation that the old methodology has become impractical, and an approach to a new constructive policy of revolutionary change by action along lines other than class war. This explains much of the difficulty within the movement between those who stress almost exclusively the orthodox parliamentarianism of the past twenty years, and those who impatiently call for labor action, organization on the industrial front, and an increased militancy. There is indubitably a strong tendency toward the resolution of this inner difficulty. If that tendency is to proceed, until it soundly informs the policy of the movement,

both factions will have to adopt a strategy which comprehends the sort of party organization now going on so well, along with the upbuilding in local communities of complete programs for political, economic, and not least, cultural regeneration. But they will have to work out, in addition, on a deliberate and pervasive plan, direct intervention on behalf of the workers wherever they are oppressed, wherever an opportunity offers to strengthen their forces and wield influence for socialization. The organization of the class struggle along lines fully as revolutionary as those of class war, but devoid of its war technique and its incitement to counter-violence, should be a primary concern of modern Socialists. Admittedly it will not be easy; but its promise makes it infinitely worth while though its costs in sacrifice, time, and even occasionally loss of prestige, will not be light.

MOST of the secondary steps that can be taken, however, are based upon the premise of a genuine labor movement, extensive and prepared. A nucleus is already at hand, in some of the more progressive unions. One would believe, if he did not know better statistically, that the great conservative unions are so all-powerful that the main job is to capture these bodies as the preliminary to the formation of a militant labor movement; this has, in fact, been the strategy of former years. But millions of unorganized workers exist, entirely unstirred by present unions. And even though a worse time than the present could hardly be imagined for increased unionization in many areas, unless certain economic signs are wrong, a tremendous opportunity will present itself in the early future; for if we do emerge temporarily from the depression back to a slightly more benevolent capitalism, making enough concessions to hold the workers in their bonds for yet a while, the hangover of resentment coupled with the need for greater unity will open up the way for a renewed drive to unionize the manual and white collar workers all over the country. To undertake such a task is not to promote dual unionism; rather, it is to attempt the job which reactionary union leadership should have tackled long ago and with regard to which they have been in better times singularly negligent.

If Socialists leave this work to conservative union guidance, and fail to meet the opportunity with a program of labor organization, directly conceived of as an important socialist function, they will deserve whatever weakness they encounter later on. If they are ready and act accordingly, they will take on a power they have not hitherto known. They will, at the same time, be preparing the soil for a really radical change without the war technique and its certain defeat, and will be building up a momentum that will sweep aside and conquer any temporary set-backs or temporary circumstance.



Not in the

Why Senator Glass Declined

The reasons for the refusal of Senator Carter Glass to accept an invitation to become Secretary of the Treasury are divulged by *The Business Week*. This publication says that Senator Glass insisted upon the naming of S. Parker Gilbert and Russell Cornell Leffingwell as assistant secretaries, because he had worked with them during the Wilson administration and could thus avoid breaking in new hands. The suggestion proved to be politically impossible since both of these gentlemen are members of the House of Morgan. A second reason for the refusal of Senator Glass is found in the unwillingness of Mr. Roosevelt to commit himself irrevocably to the gold standard in his inaugural address.

Tories are Routed

In the Rotherham by-election a Tory majority of 762 in the General Election was transformed into a Labor victory by a margin of 15,874. This outcome is being interpreted by the Labor Party as indicating a radical change in public sentiment toward the Tory-Nationalist Government.

More Pacifist Students

The example set by Oxford and Manchester students in going on record by substantial majorities that they "will in no circumstances fight for King and Country" has been followed by equally substantial majorities at Glasgow, Leicester, and Wales.

Capital Levy Idea Spreads

The idea of a capital levy, spread by Socialists in the recent national campaign, has been taken up by two old party legislators in Eugene, Oregon—Representative Dickson and Senator Zimmerman. Their House Bill No. 379 is "an act imposing a capital levy upon all property within the state of Oregon, or owned by residents thereof, providing for exemptions and deductions and prescribing for a method of collection, and imposing penalties for non-payment or evasion. A tax of one per cent is levied on the first \$10,000 of taxable property, one and one-half per cent on the second \$10,000, two per cent on the third \$10,000, and three per cent on all over \$30,000. Taxable property begins, however, at \$20,000, so that no one owning less than \$30,000 worth would be taxed.

Woman Magistrate Sentenced

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, the first woman in India to be appointed a magistrate, has been sentenced to a year in prison for refusing to promise not to express disapproval of the drastic ordinances under which India is now governed. Mrs. Cousins was an active worker for woman suffrage before women got the vote. For the past 17 years she has devoted herself to the welfare of the women of India. Her trial in the Madras police court brought out a large attendance, including many Indian women.

Public Ownership Saves Schools

Although dozens of schools in Arkansas have closed and hundreds of others are nearing the end of their rope, the children of Bentonville, in that state, will continue to be taught by well-paid school teachers because Bentonville's 35-year-old municipal light and power plant is a generous uncle to the city's school system and other public services. It will contribute \$1,000 a month to meet school bills, until the present term is closed. Last year it put \$7,000 into the school system, and a few years ago contributed a similar sum toward a paving project. City employees take great pride in the efficiency of the service maintained by the municipal plant. A few results of this efficiency are: no bonded indebtedness, no city automobile fees, no occupation taxes on persons doing business in the city.

Feminine Fighters?

General Pedro de Goes Monteiro, of Brazil, according to the International Anti-Militaristic Commission, has requested that the constitutional commission shall introduce a clause in the constitution providing that hereafter war service of women in the Brazilian army shall be obligatory. Though women's organizations are in revolt, the military leader declares that since women now have the right to vote and strive in other ways to be the equals of men, they must share military responsibility at least to the extent of serving as conscript victualers, nurses, etc.

Child Starvation Grows

Since 1930 the number of children so undernourished as to be in actual danger has increased from seven per cent to 22 per cent in counties with the best record and from 38 per cent to 52 per cent in others. Gov. Pinchot revealed at the Pennsylvania state conference on malnutrition of children. More than 420,000 of the million undernourished are suffering from "definite functional disorders due to malnutrition," the Governor said.

What's In A Name?

The ousting of the Technocrats from Columbia University, the Reading *Labor Advocate* suggests, is a perfect answer to those who want to change the name of the Socialist party to something less offensive to American tastes. It took less than three months, the paper points out, for the capitalists to put the brand of "radical" on a movement which had a high-sounding name which no one had ever heard before.

Union-Made Inaugural Gown

Mrs. Roosevelt is reported by *The Railway Clerk* as having refused to allow her inaugural gown to be made in the shop of a famous Fifth Avenue *modiste* because the shop does not employ union workers.

U. S. Military Instructors

The fight for Shanghai last year demonstrated to the Chinese the decisive superiority of Japanese airplanes. Since then the Chinese government has paid special attention to this branch of armaments. Money was diverted from the navy to military aviation, a training school for military pilots was established, and 15 American pilots were appointed instructors.

Eight Billions in Mortgages

Mr. Owen D. Young has recently called attention to the estimate of the Citizens' Budget Commission that outstanding mortgages on New York City real estate amount to about eight billion dollars, as compared with the assessed valuation of taxable real estate in the city of 18½ billions.

Bums and Haircuts

In the course of the debate in the House on March 1 on the proposal to house homeless boys in military training camps occurred the following colloquy:

Mr. O'Connor: I can picture these camps . . . their favorite tune will be *Hallelujah, I'm a Bum Again*. (Laughter and applause.) . . .

Mr. Connery: Well, if they do not look into this situation pretty soon and remedy these conditions the whole nation, with the exception of a few multimillionaires, will be singing *Hallelujah, I'm a Bum*, and they will sing truly. . . .

Mr. Martin [Major General, retired]: I can not think of a finer thing that can be done to young men in the adolescent age than to give them a bath and have their hair cut and make them stand up and click their heels together and have some respect for authority and some respect for the flag.

Headlines

Ohio Reaction

A joint resolution has recently been introduced into the Ohio legislature to amend the state constitution by requiring, for minority parties, nominating petitions with five per cent of the total electorate instead of one per cent, as at present. This would require 129,000 signatures to a Socialist nominating petition. The amendment also provides an express refusal of the right to use an emblem or a name except for the major parties. In addition a bill has been introduced which would require candidates to put up a fee of one half of one per cent of their yearly salary. The Ohio Socialists are organizing believers in free elections to defeat these proposals.

Soviet Forts

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has recently completed its fortifications along the Estonian frontier, which have been two years in the building.

Mooney Congress

A gathering of labor and liberal forces at a three-day congress in Chicago, April 30 to May 2, under the auspices of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, is expected to bring to maximum strength the movement to free Mooney from his California prison. According to the Federated Press, the strategy is to concentrate on a demand that the remaining indictment against Mooney be brought to trial. Originally there was one indictment for each person killed in the Preparedness Day explosion in San Francisco in 1915. As soon as conviction had been obtained by perjured evidence on one indictment and Mooney had been sentenced to death, the prosecution tried to have the others dismissed so that the case could not be reopened. However, one was allowed to stand and is the issue in this campaign. Judge Louis H. Ward of the San Francisco Superior Court has said that he is ready to proceed with the trial, but the present prosecutor, Matthew Brady, says he does not want to move against Mooney because he believes him innocent. If a jury finds Mooney not guilty on the same evidence on which he was convicted in the frameup, it is considered unlikely that California authorities will continue in their refusal to release him. If they do refuse, it is planned to go to the U. S. Supreme Court on the ground that due process of law is no longer operative in that state. This strategy had been postponed until all other legal means to free Mooney were exhausted.

The Militia System

The Swiss militia system has often been extolled as a workable compromise between a large standing army and a nation in arms. The Swiss Center for Peace Activity has now issued a pamphlet (*The Militia System a Guarantee of Peace?*) which denounces this system as a great danger to international peace.

Decline of the Railroads

Nearly 3,000 miles of railroad were abandoned during the past two years, while only 174 miles of new construction received official sanction during 1931-32, contrasted with 1,590 miles in 1930. Most of the abandonments were short links which acted as feeders to the main lines. Bus and truck competition has forced the roads to abandon these lines.

Six Millions In Germany

A New York Times correspondent writes that in addition to the 5,604,000 unemployed in Germany, as reported by the Labor Department, the "invisible" unemployment approximates another 400,000, composed of small tradesmen and handicraftsmen who have been forced out of business, but who receive no unemployment benefits.

Bloody Profits

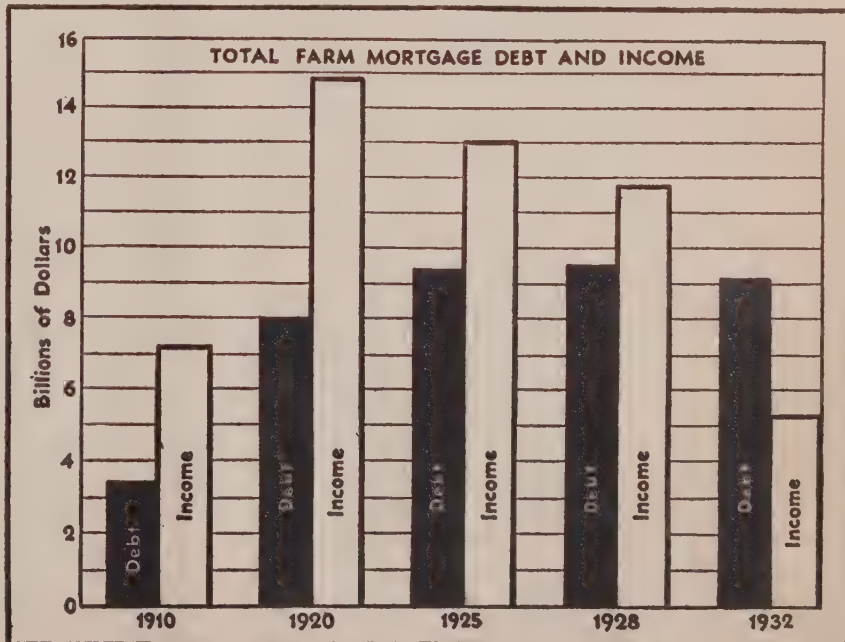
The *Year Book of the Trade in Arms* is a shocking volume. It shows that dividends have risen 560 per cent in this business in a decade. Curiously, import and export statistics do not balance, which shows that a considerable amount of the traffic in arms is carried on in secret and under various subterfuges.

The Prospects for 1936

A Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* predicts that if hard times continue for the next three years "a pretty formidable radical movement in American politics will be under way. A new third party with an extreme program will, in such a condition, be likely to put a ticket into the field in the next Presidential election. . . . And then it will be anybody's guess as to what party will elect the President."

Russia's Air Preparedness

According to the *Militär-Wochenblatt*, Soviet Russia now has about 2,000 military airplanes and plans to increase this number to 5,000 by 1935.



—From Business Week

WHAT THE FARMER OWES—Before the war the mortgage debt on American farms was only about half as large as the annual gross income of farmers. This was true even at the peak of the post-war boom. But this year, the mortgage debt is about twice as great as farm income.

A Protestant View of Religion

ERNEST FREMONT TITTLE

THE indefinite article in this title needs to be stressed. What follows is *a*, not *the*, Protestant view of the social function of religion. Who would be rash enough to present *the* Protestant view of anything, even God? Theologically, Protestantism is both Doctor Fosdick and Doctor Machen. In its social consciousness, it is both Harry Ward and Frank Buchman, Sherwood Eddy and Mark Matthews, Bishop McConnell and Bishop Candler, the pronouncements of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ and those members of its constituent bodies (probably a majority) who bitterly deplore such "extreme" (!) pronouncements. Protestantism has its creeds, theological and social, but it has no conception of life and the world which is "official."

The Protestant Church (with deplorable exceptions) is now fully awake to the awful sin and peril of international war. Ashamed of its ignorance, it is now seeking to become informed concerning the underlying causes of war. Even more ashamed of the fact that during the last war it gave to Caesar what belongs to God, it is now, in the name of God and humanity, condemning war and insisting upon the creation of adequate machinery for the pacific settlement of international disputes. In its demand for the outlawry of war and the building of "institutions of peace" is any voice so persistent or so powerful as that of the church (both Protestant and Catholic) and the synagogue?

But within the churches, as outside them, there is as yet no general recognition of the fact that the chief cause of modern war is economic. Hence the sad and anomalous spectacle of earnest churchmen demanding the outlawry of war and, at the same time, insisting upon the retention of economic practices which, motivated by selfish profit-seeking, make for war as inevitably as unsanitary streets and houses make for disease. Even now the attention of the church is mostly fixed upon armaments, which undoubtedly ought to be scrapped but never will be so long as the world is *organized* to secure individual gain, whether personal or national, and not the welfare of mankind.

Nevertheless, Protestantism is not wholly blind to the flagrant evils and inherent perils of the present social order. Many Protestant bodies (mostly clerical) have expressed the deliberate judgment that concerning the social order which we now have the hand of God has written: "Mene, mene, tekem, upharsin." Witness the declaration¹ of the Reformed Church of

the United States: "Unemployment is the product of an unchristian economic order built upon greed and ruthless competition"; the declaration of the Conference of Protestant Ministers of Ohio: "A just regard for human beings has never been central in the capitalist system"; the judgment expressed by the Protestant Episcopal Church: "Too often conditions have fostered a freedom to win great rewards through privilege"; the judgment voiced by the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church upon "the ruthlessness of the pagan forces which now so largely rule the affairs of men and nations . . . providing big profits for those at the top while often disregarding the welfare of the common man"; and the declaration of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1932): "The present industrial order is unchristian, unethical, and anti-social." It is doubtless true that such declarations as these do not represent the deliberate judgment of the present majority of Protestant laymen or even clergymen. But they do represent a significant trend in Protestant thinking; and it is worth remembering that, hitherto, progress has come through far-seeing minorities who, daring to think and live ahead of the majority, have at last succeeded in making their own view prevail.

AS to the new social order which, it is hoped, will rise out of the ruins of the old, the voice of Protestantism is somewhat vague. Recent pronouncements of clerical bodies have for the most part laid down principles rather than programs. They have called for "a reconstruction of our whole economic system upon the basis of brotherhood and justice"²; "a social way of life in which all men have opportunity to develop their capacity to the fullest possible extent"³; "the administration of our economic and social affairs so that men can live happy and useful lives free from the dread of poverty or the fear of war"⁴; the enforcement of "the principle of human rights above property rights"⁵; "an industrial system which shall be conducted primarily for human well-being rather than for huge profits for the few."⁶ Only a few pronouncements have made specific recommendations, as, for example, the declaration of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church that "the principal means of production and distribution, which are now privately organized, controlled, and operated mainly for the benefit of a relatively small

¹ For the quotations given in this and the following paragraph I am indebted to the Social Service Bulletin (Jan. 1, 1933) of the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

² Reformed Church of the United States, 1932.

³ General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1932.

⁴ New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1931.

⁵ Northern Baptist Convention, 1931.

⁶ Conference of the Congregational Churches, 1931.

proportion of our population, must be brought under some form of social ownership and management"; and the article in the new Social Creed adopted by the Federal Council of Churches which calls for "social planning and the control of credit, of the monetary system, and of economic processes for the common good."

GENERALLY speaking, these clerical pronouncements concerning a new social order have been idealistic pictures, not realistic programs. But the latter they could hardly be in view of the fact that they have emanated from socially minded clergymen who recognize the unchristian character of our present social order, and who clearly see the principles which must be applied in the building of a more Christian order, but whose training has not equipped them with the technical knowledge needed to draw blueprints for such an order. It is not today as it was in the day of Amos, when men of ethical insight could trust themselves to offer concrete political and economic panaceas for the ills of a relatively simple society. In a society as complex as ours, the religious idealist may well hesitate to be *too* specific lest he not only speak without knowledge but allow his idealism to become merely the executive, not the judge, of political and economic proposals. There is, to be sure, the opposite danger that an idealism which does not endorse concrete proposals for the attainment of its own ends will presently become impotent, if not cowardly and hypocritical. Without technical training, the religious idealist must steer a perilous course between the Scylla of a premature concreteness and the Charybdis of an impotent indefiniteness. God help him!

Religion, as I see it, is both refuge and challenge, security and adventure. Religion provides security because it gives men needed assurance that they are not alone in a universe that is hostile or indifferent to them and their cause. It fortifies them with the conviction that underneath all the confusion and strife, all the suffering and madness of the world, are the everlasting arms of a power which always has been and is now wresting life from death and victory from defeat. Hence you find Jesus saying, "I am alone, yet not alone, for the Father is with me"; and you find him, in utter devotion to what he conceives to be the will of God, steadfastly setting his face to go to Jerusalem, though he knows that what awaits him there is probably a cross. Religion provides refuge because it enables men to transcend the limitations and hardships, the disappointments and frustrations, of their earthly lot in contemplation of an eternal world of truth, beauty, and love in which they may find satisfaction for all the deepest hungers of their hearts. At the same time, it provides a continuous summons to heroic adventure because, inasmuch as it does open men's eyes to this eternal world of truth, beauty and love, it makes them forever dissatisfied with the world they

now have—and forever hopeful that a better world is possible. Hence you find religious men saying:

"A mighty fortress is our God,
A bulwark never failing:
Our helper he, amid the flood
Of mortal ills prevailing."

Religion presents the most sublime goal for human striving—the kingdom of God. And note should be taken of the fact, pointed out by Rabbi Israel in his article in *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, that the goal of religion is a flying goal, an ever new heaven, an ever new earth. For this reason a high religion is altogether the most disturbing force in the world. It is not content with *any* present achievement, personal or social. Historically speaking, idealism has been born in the souls of seers who, in lonely communion with the Eternal, have caught glimpses of a good as yet unachieved and even unenvisioned by the masses of mankind. And, as history also shows, it is only the profoundly religious man who, continuously disturbed by that haunting vision of a good as yet unachieved, manages to avoid the pitfalls of self-satisfaction and premature contentment. The sons of revolutionists may become conservatives, even reactionaries; but never the true sons of God! Related in spirit to that which is Most High, they remain revolutionists to the end of the day. Religion, which is the historic mother of social idealism, is everlastingly needed to keep her offspring alive. If Russia does succeed in reaching her goal, only religion can save her from a deplorable contentment with things as they are!

RELIGION generates the motive needed for social change. It does not believe that man is "an ape who chatters to himself of kinship with archangels while filthily he digs for ground nuts"; or that "man's life has no more significance than that of the humblest insect which crawls from one annihilation to another." It maintains that man is a spiritual being with a spiritual background and a spiritual destiny. It declares that he is a son of God. Having this high conception of man, religion can never consent to his exploitation. Its prophets have always denounced "man's inhumanity to man." They have always cried out against greed and injustice. They *must* decry "the profit motive" inasmuch as it springs from greed and produces injustice. They *must* insist upon the "service motive," which has in view the welfare of mankind. They *are* demanding that society shall be so organized as to give to the service motive a real and an expanding chance to function. Before long, I think, they will be stressing the need of social insurance and a socially planned economy.

As to the method of securing desperately needed social changes, Protestants differ. The majority deplore violence, especially when it is employed by the

underdog. If only they were equally vigorous in their condemnation of violence when it is used by power and privilege to beat the underprivileged into submission! A few even of Christian idealists are prepared to believe that violence is inevitable in any serious struggle for a better world. Speaking for myself, I can but say that to me the method of violence appears to be both unchristian and ineffective. It is, I think, beyond dispute that it is opposed not only to the Christian ethic but to the Christian conception of God. A teacher who said, "Whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also" can hardly be brought forward as an advocate of violent means of securing needed social changes. A God who reveals his glory in the face of Jesus Christ and who secures his triumphs through the instrumentality of a cross (vicarious suffering) can hardly be supposed to give his blessing to any revolutionary method which involves the use of violence—the killing, let it be frankly said, of men, women, and children. And if anyone feels disposed to exclaim, "So much the worse, then, for the Christian ethic and the Christian conception of God," the reply is—an appeal to history, including that which is now in the making.

In the limited space allotted to this article it is obviously impossible to debate the outcome of such an appeal. I can only express a personal judgment that violence has always produced more of evil than it has been able to overcome. Its immediate results, as in the case of Russia, may be spectacular, but what of its final results? In the case of Russia it is too early to say. But, historically, it may be said that even such apparently good results as have been achieved by violence have turned out to be superficial and impermanent, whereas its evil results have lingered on to curse the lives of succeeding generations. At best, the advocate of violence appears to me to be an impatient man whose eagerness for quick results has led him into a position which is far more "sentimental" than that of the most thorough-going pacifist. To say this is not to say that idealism must be content only to talk. It is to say that idealism, if it desires to be radically redemptive, must not employ the bloody hands of violence. It may, if necessary, employ police power and even economic power to secure the ends of justice. *It may not kill men, women, and children.*

RELIGION, as I view it, provides the one true goal for human striving—a flying goal of increasing splendor. It provides the one dependable motive for social change—a regard for man which creates an everlasting desire to promote his welfare and secure his advancement. It insists upon the one method of securing social change which offers any chance of radical and permanent success—the slow, costly method of truth and love, employing, when necessary, non-violent forms of justly controlled coercion. And

further, religion provides the *sine qua non* of any new and glorious society, namely, faith in the possibility of its achievement—a faith which appeals not only to history but, in spite of much history, to the moral constitution of the world, and which, therefore, is not daunted by immediate defeat or long delay, being supported by the assurance that the fight is not only man's but God's and that soon or late God is destined to win.

Such, as I conceive it, is the social function of religion. But will religion be allowed thus to function in our time? Unmistakably, on the part of some, there is a tendency to flee for refuge to religions of authority; and, on the part of many, there is a tendency to fall in with movements such as Buchmanism—movements which secure to the individual an inexpensive private adjustment to life and the world. But, these tendencies notwithstanding, steadily increases the number of those who find in prophetic religion the only goal worth striving for and the only consolation for their own tormented hearts.

Sonnets Toward Peace

I. ALWAYS THE FLOWER HAS DIED

MY garden looks on cycles of rebirth,
Where slowly petals of a rose unfold
An ancient ritual from spiral mold
Of bud. In cosmic attitude the girth
Of life is measured in its blossoming,
And all the symphony of color sweeps
Again to silence in a seed that keeps
The certain calends of returning spring. •

At dawn while roses softly chant their creed
In silvered light to some remembered field,
I watch them gather crimson from the sun,
And contemplate such loveliness as freed
Of death, with each perfection then revealed
Immortal to the old oblivion.

II. WHEN LOVE SHALL HAVE FULFILLED

WHERE sullen canopies of kings have stood,
Pavillioned black against the winter dusk
Of war, a fallow field throws off its husk,
Proclaiming Earth's return to brotherhood
In crops. But always blossom folds again
To sleep; through pallid light stark furrows ride
The barren hills, while battle swings a wide
Circumference beyond the reach of men.

No flower may endure in beauty past
Its time of seed, until a ministry
Of rarer soil than earth has yet defined
Shall nurture it; and peace can only last
When love shall have fulfilled its potency
Of thought beyond mortality of mind.

HELLENE SEAMAN



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Idealism Speaks Out

Contemporary Idealism in America. Edited by Clifford Barrett. The Macmillan Company. \$2.00.

HERE is a symposium of more than usual interest and significance. Written by twelve eminent university professors, and setting forth in many-sided fashion the philosophy of idealism, it boldly announces that realism has been tried and found wanting, and that idealism will once again take its rightful place of prominence in the convictions of our leading thinkers.

Idealism reached the height of its power and influence under the vigorous leadership of Josiah Royce. During his declining years he realized, according to the testimony of his colleagues, that its glory was fading, and that his struggle with a rising school of vigorous young realists would be too much for him. In 1912 a much talked of book, *The New Realism*, written by six prominent philosophers, made its appearance, and showed plainly which way the philosophic wind was blowing. Professor Royce died in 1916, and just in time to be spared the sorrow of witnessing the total eclipse of idealism. So completely was it ignored that Professor Roy Wood Sellars mentions it in passing as "an interlude". But Professor Barrett and his colleagues prove convincingly that idealism, far from being a mere interlude, is the perennial philosophic ghost of the ages, keeping tough-minded thinkers awake at nights, and dividing the world's scholars, as it always has done, into the sheep and the goats.

This book may not be a forerunner of a revived idealism as the other book, 20 years ago, was the forerunner of realism; but the contributors strike a confident note, express an amazing unanimity of opinion, and present what has always been an alluring way of life. Professor George Herbert Palmer contributes the first chapter, and dedicates it to his old friend, Professor Royce, extolling the great intellect and spirit of the man; and R. F. Alfred Hoernlé writes the closing chapter in a similar vein when he says that no one may safely accept or reject idealism without first coming to grips with Josiah Royce.

Idealists and realists alike accept the findings of modern science. Both seek in some fashion to form a logical and consistent conception of the universe, and both are constantly attempting to find how man can best relate himself to his environment. From this point on, however, thinkers usually come to the parting of the ways. The realist assumes that the world is a shifting heap of elements which arrange themselves fortuitously by external relations. The idealist believes, on the other hand, that the universe is in some sense organic, an interrelation of mind or spirit. Since the days of Plato and Aristotle men have been contending over some phase of this issue, and the present symposium proves that the rival schools are just about as far apart as they have ever been.

"A fundamental postulate of idealism," says Professor Leighton,

"is that nature is organic to spiritual ends," and in different words all the other contributors here express themselves in similar fashion. Theirs is an adventure of faith, faith that the cosmos is friendly to human hopes and aspirations. The theistic implication always lurks somewhere in the philosophy of idealism, and at times it amounts to dogmatism. To quote Professor Boodin: "The God we discover as cosmic control . . . is also a God to whom we can pray, and whom we can worship. He must be capable of giving love for love, and be willing to pity and pardon our failures. No other idea of God will serve." To be sure they do not all go as far as that, but Professor Hoernlé very properly points out that even Professor Whitehead, often regarded as a realist, is at heart himself an idealist, and something of a Spinozistic theist at that.

Logically and naturally then, idealists, unlike realists, find definite cosmic support in pursuit of the good life. Moral values are for them not fragmentary problems in some small corner of life, not mere matters of self-assertion or self-denial, not simple facts attached to the natural order. They can be understood only as ultimate values, grounded in the very heart of the cosmos. It is always to be understood, of course, that these and other values have existence only in so far as there are minds to gather them into their own experience. "We are not forgetful," says Professor Hendle, "of the process whereby ideals exist, that they have no place or value in the world apart from the coöperative thought and will and action of human beings." Thus is blended in the whole cosmic inclusiveness man's entire existence. No wonder Bosanquet is something of a pantheist, and others likewise. Once conceive the cosmos as a spiritual organism in which the lower levels, such as matter, are incidental by-products, where is one logically to stop short of some form of pantheism?

No doubt the picture of the universe as the idealist paints it is a charming, inspiring picture. But one cannot escape the feeling that there is in it still too much of the alloy of wish-thinking, despite the herculean labors of Plato, Kant, Royce, the present contributors, and others. Metaphysics is a precarious business, and should not be undertaken without a preliminary purging of intellectual and emotional bias. Can it be done? Not easily. Professor Dewey has said a great deal in criticism of metaphysicists, but at least one writer in this symposium points out that even Dewey has never entirely overcome the idealism of his younger days.

One grows a bit weary of this flinging back and forth of philosophic labels. That there is a basic issue is certain, but the line of demarcation is not easily discerned; and overlappings, even among the best thinkers, are many. Let the lover of philosophy forget labels for a while, and plunge afresh into the task of clarifying his concepts of what these issues are all about. He will then find a new joy in thinking, and a new use for a symposium such as this.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER

Naive Individualism

Individualism—An American Way of Life. By Horace M. Kallen. Liveright. \$2.00.

ONE is sometimes persuaded that a liberal academic intellectual, whether he be philosopher, sociologist, educator, anthropologist or theologian, is constitutionally inhibited from understanding the problems of an industrial civilization. He is too much the detached individual to do so. He fails, in his detachment, to understand either the full tragedy of modern industrial life or the hard road which must be taken if our society is to be redeemed from the blight of capitalism.

Mr. Kallen traces the sources and the development of American individualism in convincing terms. He sees truly that it gained its validity in the economic conditions of the frontier. He recognizes that a money civilization depersonalizes all social relations, that a technological civilization increases specialization to the point where it destroys the wholeness of life and that a capitalistic civilization concentrates power and privilege until individual freedom is completely destroyed, above all the basic freedom of economic security.

How will Professor Kallen escape from this hell? He will do it by lecturing to the men of power and persuading them that they have taken the wrong way and by inspiring the young people to reclaim their parental American heritage. He is afraid of trying any more rigorous method than this because he is afraid of every form of coercion. His naive individualism prevents him from recognizing that society is formed by a combination of mutual consent and coercive forces and that an industrial civilization increases the intensity and extent of social cohesion to such a degree that his liberal democratic ideal has become an impossible one, whether in a capitalistic or a communistic state. If the weak are to be saved from the strong in such a civilization as this, power will have to be destroyed, particularly economic power; but there will have to be a strong social control to prevent a new group of oligarchs from using political power to destroy freedom. If there is to be any equalization of freedom, in other words, there will have to be less freedom than existed in the agrarian society of the past toward which Professor Kallen turns so wistfully.

Something more vigorous than Professor Kallen's lectures to the mighty and the youthful will be required to create this new society. Whether we are to have a revolution or a "piecemeal benign transformation" depends, he declares, upon the "will and the wisdom of the masters of industry." He wants them to "wash away with the flow of human sympathy the boundaries of industrial caste." He thinks that perhaps he can persuade these masters to permit the worker "to extend the insight and participation in the total processes of industry" so that "individuality will be liberated from its bondage to the machine." He is, of course, not sure that his lectures will be heeded. "Had only the captains of industry the courage! They would find precedent from Robert Owen's day to this. Each successful experiment would multiply endeavors geometrically."

For fear that the captains of industry will fail him, Professor Kallen calls upon the young people. He issues this call after proving conclusively that education tends to perpetuate the prejudices and perspectives of a given social system. But somehow there must be a spark of heroism in youth, irrespective of economic circumstance, to which an appeal can be made. "Let not the financiers and merchants and industrialists who are your elders prostitute your qualities to the bondage of the machine and the price system," he cries. Evidently he does not know that there are thousands of young men in college who hope to get favored

positions in this machine and price system and who care little about its bondage as long as it does not grind them down to misery. "You must make good as a fact what the fathers claimed as a principle: that all men are created equal," he admonishes his youthful readers in words of pathetic enthusiasm and futility.

What we have here, in short, is the most futile kind of liberalism. It has only the slightest inkling of the real facts of an industrial civilization and no understanding at all of the stubbornness, the brutal inertia and the will-to-power of a dominant social group which is fighting to maintain its privileges in society. This kind of liberalism almost persuades one that the Communists are the only ones who understand the true nature of man's collective behavior. There are certain insights in classical religion which show a much more realistic view of the true facts of human behavior than that which a rationalistic liberal of Professor Kallen's school possesses.

If that is the best the universities can do for us, then truly the blind are leading the blind.

R. N.

Who's Who in This Issue

H. J. Voorhis is headmaster of the Voorhis School for Boys at San Dimas, California.

Ernest F. Tittle, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Evanston, Illinois, is the author of "Jesus After Nineteen Centuries" and other volumes on religious subjects.

Edwin T. Buehrer is minister of the First Congregational Church in Haworth, N. J.

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THE LAST WORD

THE trend of fashion, as better men than I have often remarked, can sometimes be bewildering. When the land was flowing with milk and honeys (no, that's not a typographical error) the girls all had to be thin; sufficient emaciation could often get a young woman by in lieu of good breeding. Now, however, when millions of our people hardly know where their next meal is to come from, the papers have been carrying huge advertisements which point out that the skinnier a girl may be, the slimmer her chances for marital success. Not only that: silhouettes (which in my youth were defined as drawings in black and white but which have entirely lost that meaning) nowadays must be Amazonian, even though not yet quite behemothian. Well, I am not going to find fault. If people want to plump themselves out into wide arcs during one decade and starve themselves into parallelipeds in another. I shall not wave my arms from any rostrum and demand emergency legislation. When women, after changing the style in 1916 so that for the first time since ancient Greece they actually became bipeds, finally succumbed to the coutouriers or the surplus cotton crop and once more assumed the aspect of Noah's ark figures, I knew that I might as well submit. And even if the wave of sartorial and tonsorial reaction produces more delicate mustaches on males and follows the feminine mutton-leg sleeve with the bustle and the rat, the worst I shall do will be to crawl into a corner of the woodshed and sulk bitterly. Whether women take off petticoats and men put on whiskers, or the ladies don hoopskirts and the men remove their eyebrows, I shall not be deflected one iota from my interest in free trade, socialism, non-alcoholic beer, and the nebula in Orion.

PEOPLE can do what they want to themselves. But what gets my nanny is to read, as I did the other day, that a New York State farmer has found a way to make his hens bring greater profits by confining them all their lives long to a small box. Here, in her cubicle, each hen is immune from disease by contact; keeps her muscles perennially young and soft; and uses all of her energy in egg production, often laying twice a day. I have never been a vegetarian and certainly will not become one until the apostles of that creed stop wearing leather shoes when they give up meat; but this news is going to be hard on the cult, for its devotees usually rely on eggs. What will they do when they find that to produce eggs the hen is compelled to become a vegetable herself? I had my suspicions of what was afoot when night illumination for chicken houses was introduced; my protests then were withheld, however, for I thought that maybe the most sedate hen might be benefited by a touch of life along the gay white way. In this latest development, though, the farmer has all the advantage and the chickens none; the wronged fowls cannot brandish a noose and refuse to lay, or bid in their own eggs for a song, thus foiling their exploiters. But aha! Right will yet win. I commence tomorrow a nation-wide campaign to induce hens to abstain from eating oyster shells! Let the brutal poultry raiser, when he is presented with shell-less eggs, unscramble them if he can.

You see, it happens that Eccentricus himself keeps chickens. I put the problem up to His Majesty, our Lakenvelder rooster, who knows my slang as I know his. Among the hens there was instant indignation. They fluttered about, crying "Lawk-a-me! Cheap, cheap, cheap skate!" Of His Majesty I asked, "What is your opinion of a poultryman who will descend to such tricks?" He pondered, scratched his head, winked ferociously, moved his throat as if to make a sound, then suppressed it, eyeing me questioningly. I understood. This was merely his way of saying, in the inelegant vernacular which all old roosters affect, "Dumb cluck." And I had to agree.

Eccentricus ■

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